DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 157 190 95 EA 010 750

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TITLE School Crime and Belongingness.
INSTITUTION National Council on Crime and Delinquency, Hackensack, N.J. NewGate Resource Center.
SPONS AGENCY Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE Feb 78
NOTE 53p.; Chapter 22 of "Theoretical Perspectives on School Crime, Volume I"; For other papers in this volume, see EA 010 729-768

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$3.50 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Adjustment (to Environment); *Delinquent Behavior; *Disadvantaged Youth; Discipline Problems; Dormitories; Elementary Secondary Education; *Group Dynamics; Group Experience; *Group Guidance; Intervention; *Peer Influence; Residential Centers; School Vandalism; *Vocational Training Centers

ABSTRACT

One of 52 theoretical papers on school crime and its relation to poverty, this chapter discusses the results of three studies made of subjects in a residential vocational training center for youth. The first study correlated demographic, medical history, and behavioral variables to center adjustment. The second study examined possible relationships between number of visits to the dispensary and misbehavior and other overt indications of stress. The third study concerned the effect of an autonomous groups program on the incidence of misbehavior. The effect was not only a reduction in incidence of minor and major misconduct, but the stimulation of individuals' anticipation regarding how their friends would view their behavioral offenses. Apparently such anticipation resulted in enhanced efforts toward positive adjustment. Other anecdotal evidence supported the findings of the third study that a sense of belongingness on the part of youth is an important factor in stimulating anticipation of the consequences of behavior. (Author/MLF)

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SCHOOL CRIME AND BELONGINGNESS

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A paper from
"Theoretical Perspectives on School Crime"

Submitted to
DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
February 1978

Submitted by
NATIONAL COUNCIL ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY
Hackensack, N.J.

EA 010 750

ABSTRACT

Over a period of four years three studies were made of subjects in a residential vocational training Center for youth. The first study correlated demographic, medical history, and behavioral variables to Center adjustment. Only self-reported nervousness and insomnia on a self-report medical form and gender were related to favorable adjustment. The second study examined possible relationships between number of visits to the dispensary and misbehavior and other overt indications of stress. Again, no relationships were found. The third study concerned the effect of an autonomous groups program on the incidence of misbehavior. The effect was not only a reduction in incidence of minor and major misconduct, but the stimulation of individuals' anticipation regarding how their friends would view their behavioral offenses. Apparently such anticipation resulted in enhanced efforts toward positive adjustment. Other anecdotal evidence supported the findings of the third study that a sense of belongingness on the part of youth is an important factor in stimulating anticipation of the consequences of behavior, which appears to mediate both negative and positive behavior.

Introduction

Public school officials and teachers are plagued by a continuing increase in the number of undesirable acts committed in public schools, ranging all the way from truancy to murder (Krotcoski & Kratcoski, 1975). Theorists blame this rise in misbehavior on a variety of factors, from individual characterological problems, stemming from weakened home lives or bad parenting, to a weakening of marriage and/or societal permisiveness. Educators who operate classrooms and schools, however, need technology to help them control such behavior. For over 20 years, psychologists have been suggesting individual behavioral analysis and contingency management (Staats & Butterfield, 1965; Meachum & Wiesen, 1974; Wolf, Giles, & Hall, 1968) to control such behavior. But such individualized approaches prove troublesome to the individual teacher, who cannot spare the extra time and effort they entail (MacDonald & Oden, 1973). Also, such individualized programs may cause more problems than they solve by creating jealousies among both students and teachers. While reward systems have proven effective in small demonstration programs (Phillips, Phillips, Fixsen, & Wolf, 1971; Ayllon & Azrin, 1968), principals and teachers find them cumbersome and time consuming. Their problem remains: they need an underlying philosophy and technology which requires minimum effort on

the part of teachers, and which applies in a large school population with behaviors ranging from the highly school-oriented to the disruptive and criminal.

Fairweather (1967) suggested that a systems approach be used in situations where people worked in groups. MacDonald (1967) suggested that, in the Job Corps, just such a social-based system could reduce undesirable behavior by considering each residential living unit in a Training Center, including teachers, as a social system. The teachers participated by supplying behavioral information to the counselors who operated the system.

This paper reports a four-year study of the Job Corps Training Center, Honolulu, Hawaii. The Center offers basic educational opportunities to young people who have not finished high school, and includes graduation either from the school which they last attended, or through GED testing. The Center also offers vocational training and job placement. Volunteers for the program are asked to attend classes from 8:00 a.m. until about 3:30 p.m. Most of the rest of the time, the residents are free to come and go with few restrictions. A few residents are on "hold" by the Juvenile Court and are sent to correctional institutions if they fail to live up to the minimum standards of the Center.

This paper will present three studies and informal data about support services in order to acquaint the reader with the array of management problems and basic facts regarding

the steps taken to maximize desirable behavior. The intent is to show to the reader how and why the Center is regarded as a social system, and how the administrators of the Center (and perhaps the administrators of any such educational facility) can have marked impact on the behavior of the residents. Some similarities and differences between this facility and the public schools are mentioned.

The first study examines the hypothesis that individual stress at the Center is related both to visits to the clinic and to acts of misbehavior. This view suggests that stress-induced misbehavior cam be identified early and prevented. The failure to demonstrate such a relationship fostered subsequent work.

Study two examines data collected over a six-month period when the Center had begun an autonomous group-management system. It searches, by statistical means, variables which might be related to "good" Center adjustment (no misbehavior) verses bad adjustment (many misbehaviors). Again, findings were negative, but useful.

The third study compares misbehavior at the Center before the introduction of the autonomous groups and after the introduction of the system.

The fourth part of the paper presents a discussion of the formal studies and of the operation of other services provided by the Center which had not been under formal study: food services, orientation, and preparation and release.

It is our intent to present some ideas that have been tried and/or examined in a residential setting rather like that of many schools. We intend not only to discuss the potential usefulness of these ideas, but to present to the reader a begining technology which has proven useful with a population which includes some students considered to be at high risk for illegal behavior.

Background and Description of the Center

History

The Hawaii Job Corps Center was established in 1965 by the then Office of Economic Opportunity. Under the guidance of the Regional Office in San Francisco, the Hawaii Job Corps Center became a vocational training Center for residents of Hawaii and has, through the years, remained an important resource for youth who were pushed from or had quit school.

The Hawaii Center was originally staffed by personnel with military backgrounds, and military-style Center management obtained. The facility itself had been a World War II training camp, the existing Quonset huts and other, hastily constructed, corrugated-iron structures were pressed into service as dormitories. Under the patient and steady guidance of the Project Manager,[1] the Center evolved

[1]Jim Mathews served as Project Manager for almost the entire history of the Center and guided it to its present status as a modern educational/vocational facility.

from a quasimilitary camp to a modern training center with a coherent, flexible program capable of meeting the diverse educational and vocational needs of a wide variety of Corpspersons. This evolution was made difficult by old, dilapidated facilities, built for other purposes and by a salary schedule based on federal rather than local pay scales (OEO headquarters was located in Washington, D.C., while Hawaii, for most of the period about which this article is written, was one of the locations in which armed service and government personnel were given a 15 percent pay differential because of the high prices). Thus, it was not a project for which success was bought.

The vocational and educational faculty has been fairly stable, though many of the positions have an average turnover of two years. Teachers and Counselors, for example, are attracted to higher paying positions. Most of the Vocational Training staff had experience in the private sector, and some have held elective positions in unions. The Resident Advisor staff, the largest at the Center, is the lowest paid and originally was comprised mainly of custodial persons with little training or interest in developing managerial skills. However, under the guidance of two key personnel[2] the Residential staff began to develop managerial skills, and those required in crises. Therefore,

[2]Emerson Smith, Director and Coordinator of Education, provided unique training for management and crisis intervention which matches any know to the authors.

while the staff has had a moderate turnover rate, there has been steady improvement in all aspects of the program under the guidance of this important nucleus of personnel.

A general plan for the operation of each Job Corps Center evolved over the last 12 years. The operation of each Center follows policies and procedures set up by the Central Office and implemented through a working relationship between the Training Center Director and the Regional Project Manager.[3] The working relationship provides the program latitude required for individual needs of each Center. While there are general guidelines for the program each Center has its own unique features; thus, the studies discussed in this article are not replicated in other Centers.

The Center Program

Consistent with Central Office policy, the Hawaii Center has the major objectives of providing youth with the educational and vocational skills required for employment. Four main divisions of staff deal with the explicit goals:

1. Academic Training. Students (called Corpspersons) are encouraged to develop reading, writing and other communications skills. Other academic work includes training to adjust to independent living (World of Work--WOW).

[3]Art Kube has been the Director since 1970 and Jim Mathews has served as Project Manager since 1967.

2. Vocational Training. Corpspersons, after some orientation, choose the vocational area they prefer and get classroom and practical training in that vocational area. There are well-equipped facilities for training in electronics, auto mechanics, carpentry, masonry, building maintenance, welding, and office-machine repair at the Center. An active On-the-Job Training (OJT) takes Corpspersons off the Center to sites where instructors offer training in other trades. Culinary arts, nursing, and heavy-equipment repair are some of the OJT training opportunities.

3. Counseling. While all Corpspersons aren't carried continuously as active counseling cases, most Corpspersons do, at some time in their training, need counseling. Problems include behavioral (the most frequent), vocational (next most frequent), and many others, including marriage counseling (infrequent). The staff includes one Administrative Counselor, one Job (exit) Counselor, and four Staff Counselors.

4. Residential. The largest staff consists of Residential Advisors (RAs). They oversee the nearly 200 youth during the students' off-duty hours; this amounts to 16 hours per day, weekends included. While originally the RAs were considered custodians, they now operate the active "dorm system" and have evolved a highly effective crisis-intervention program. Thus, the management of the

Corpspersons is no longer simply reactive to situations, but is participative management planning, which involves Corpspersons as well as staff in the responsibility for management of activities during off-duty hours.

Two full-time recruiters canvass high schools and youth hangouts for students who are in the process of being pushed out, or dropping out of school. Those young people, male and female, from 16 to 20 years old, who meet certain low-income criteria and who may want to volunteer, are encouraged to come and visit the Center.

Each Corpsperson volunteers for up to a year, and may elect to continue a second year. He or she resides at the Center, and receives three meals a day, dorm space, and the latest physical and dental hygiene and treatment facilities; informal entertainment is also provided including movies some evenings, free admission to local athletic events, and so on. Corpspersons receive a stipend of about $2.00 a day (less taxes) and can earn monthly bonuses of $5.00 for meritorious performance. In addtion, a small sum is put into a bank account for each month of service, which becomes available for "relocation" upon termination. Corpspersons are also given initial clothing issues and are permitted to purchase clothes as they complete major phases of the program.

Most of the old World War II buildings have now been replaced by structures built by the Corpspersons

themselves. The Center is located a 25-minute bus ride from Honolulu. The Center overlooks the Western tip of Oahu and enjoys a pleasant breeze. Dorm facilities for each Corpsperson include an army-style bunk, a locker, a semiprivate room, and a latrine shared by 15 dormmates. Four dorms and one lounge are located in a building. The Center has a large dining room, a modern clinic, a recreation room, athletic facilities, classrooms, a library, and shaded, grassy grounds equal to those of Honolulu public schools.

Corpspersons represent most of the ethnic backgrounds found in Hawaii. In recent years, Corpspersons from the Trust Territory of the Pacific, from American Samoa, from Guam, and a few from Vietnam have been invited to the Center. Because youth from these areas differ in many respects from local Hawaiian and mainland U. S. youth, this paper will exclude them from all discussions, and from inclusion as experimental subjects.

In addition to the volunteer Corpspersons, up to 20 percent of the Center's student population arrive at Court influence or insistence. In this regard, the Center serves as a last chance for some youth who have a history of repeated criminal activities. Thus, while the Center is classed as a "voluntary" one which does not emphasize security measures or an obvious presence, some of its youth

are, by virtue of their past, high risks for criminal behavior. Because of this, undesirable behavior of a wide variety can be expected; this is the focus of interest for this report.

Development of Autonomous Groups

During its first eight years, the Hawaii Center operated in the traditional educational fashion. Corpspersons were assigned to educational programs according to test results, and were expected to carry out their assignments on their own. Corpspersons who did poorly in any part of the program received some form of individual punishment from the staff or faculty person involved. Such measures varied from one staff to another and included censure, spanking, fines, and restriction of privileges (passes from the Center). It was common for the staff member who had given the punishment to keep the matter quiet, and so a Corpsperson might be censured and commended during the same day with no staff knowing the range of treatment being administered.

Corpspersons who progressed reasonably well went through the program without undue notice. The Center staff expected Corpspersons to act in an orderly fashion, and little was done either positively or negatively to such students. For those few students who exceeded expectations, either excelling in one of the program areas or by

establishing favorable relationships with Center staff, a raise in pay and special consideration in privileges ensued.

As the Center became more attentive to the needs of all Corpspersons, the emphasis began to shift from traditional care to more developmental programs. The Center Director encouraged greater staff involvement and sought the aid of educational specialists. Concern was raised about what seemed a general lack of overall program. A series of weekly sessions with staff and a consultant began. This seminar, as it was called, first developed interest among the RAs and Counselors in a "Dorm Court" system. The initial concern of the staff was that of meting out equitable punishment to each Corpsperson who misbehaved. Staff felt that a system should be instituted outlining explicit punishments for specific misdeeds, to eliminate the existing rampant favoritism. A long list of undesirable and illegal behavior was developed, with explicit penalties for each offense. The system was to be administered through "Dorm Courts." The dorm group to which he or she belonged was to "try" the accused Corpsperson to determine the veracity of the charge. Then, if found guilty, the Corpsperson would be punished by the dorm group.

While this system may have resulted in more fair-handed punishment, it did not cut the perceived degree of misbehavior. Nor did it encourage desired attitudes, such

as responsibility and self-development. The system operated for six months, at which time the seminar was reconvened to assess the Center's discipline program. From the Center Director to the part-time RAs, staff considered the Dorm Court system a failure.

The seminar then entered a new phase of planning. It wasn't known exactly what the impact of the Dorm Court system was since information about numbers of offenses was not available; therefore, the first step was to improve the reporting system. It was agreed that it would be the responsibility of each staff member to write out a report on any Corpsperson for any perceived infraction of the rules. A form was developed (with four carbon copies) which included the date, name of the Corpsperson(s) being reported, the reporter, and a concise statement of the facts (either directly observed or told to the reporter, usually by a Corpsperson).

Once use of these Incident Reports began, a base for ascertaining amount of misconduct was established. There were, for all intents and purposes, three classes of behaviors:

Minor infractions included missing school, being late for school, failure to complete a work assignment in reasonable time, mild insubordination, missing doctor's appointments (most commonly dental appointments), failure to make beds, etc.

(An Intermediate level of offense was originally considered. Included were use of marijuana and harassing staff about IRs among other things. There were so few intermediate IRs, they have been dropped from analysis and discussion.)

Major offenses, generally, are those which would be considered felonies if committed by an adult under civil jurisdiction. Major infractions included auto theft, assault, and other crimes against people, arson, safecracking, and so on.

Positive behavior was reported when a Corpsperson displayed obvious bravery or made personal sacrifice on behalf of another Corpsperson or staff.

The seminar then directed its efforts toward developing a replacement for the Dorm Court system. The system required was one which would influence the Corpspersons in all areas of the program, and one which would not only reduce misconduct but develop in Corpspersons a sense of responsibility for self, fellow Corpspersons, and Center property. Over the next six months, the seminar developed what is called the "Dorm Group" system.

The seminar leader declined the staff's request to articulate the program, for two reasons: First, implementation of such a program requires the participation of all staff, and it was felt that staff who were personally involved in its planning would back it most fully. Second,

the program had many details that needed working out, and committees of staff appeared to be the most likely way of removing various staff objections. Committees negotiated over issues and worked out details that all staffs (RAs, Counselors, academic and vocational teachers) could live with.

Dorm Groups

Each 15-person dorm unit was formed into an autonomous group. Care was taken in forming ethnically heterogenous groups because it was believed that such groups could better resolve ethnical conflicts than could homogeneous groups. A system of autonomous government was established (MacDonald, 1967) in which each group was awarded privileges in accordance with the responsibilities it, as a group, was able to handle. Table 1 shows the four levels which each group could achieve. Note that for each group, the more responsibilities handled, the more privileges awarded. Note also that the group was not responsible for actual behaviors, but it was responsible for advising the staff as to what disciplinary action to take against misbehaving Corpspersons. Thus, a group could have one or several misbehaving Corpspersons and enjoy a high Step Level if it took responsible action in trying to correct their misbehavior. The principle was to try to maximize each Corpsperson's adjustment, though it was realized that any

individual Corpsperson might deviate from the standards of his or her group.

The system operated through the use of the Incident Reports. A copy of each Report was sent to the appropriate dorm Counselor. The complete week's Incident Reports for each Corpsperson were then presented to the group during their weekly Tuesday night meeting. Only Corpspersons attended this meeting, although Counselors from time to time visited the group and observers were occasionally admitted at the voluntary invitation of the group.

Table 1

Dorm Group Government

	Behavioral Requirements	Privileges
Step Level I	Orientation	1 day pass on weekend
Step Level II	Attendance at school 70%; No more than one major IR & 5 minor IRs per week	$5 pay increment & 2-day pass on weekend; A T-shirt was awarded
Step Level III	At least 80% attendance and no major IR	$5 pay increment and overnight, weekend, privileges. A wind-breaker was awarded
Step Level IV	No more than 1 minor IR per week and 90% attendance at school and vocational training	$5 pay increment & privileges off Center at any time other than duty hours from 8:00 a.m. to 4:30 p.m.; unlimited use of telephone.

The Corpspersons decided they felt what should be done about each of the Incident Reports. They might restrict the Corpsperson, impose a fine, make him or her clean up the mess which had earned the Incident Report, etc. More drastic punishments might include extra duty for a week or two, losing the privileges of leaving the camp at will, or most serious, loss of pay increment. The autonomous group passed on their recommendations to the dormitory team, which consisted of the Resident Advisors in charge during the evening hours and the Counselor. The only action taken by the dorm team was to accept or reject the slate of recommendations by the autonomous dorm group (Fairweather, 1964). Any disagreement meant that the advice slate of the dorm group about the week's Incident Reports was referred back to the group which then had to propose new actions.

The dorm system was an attempt to relate the "program" parts of the Corpsperson's life to those parts controlled by the staff. That is, pay increments, privileges, and prestige through visible awards were made contingent upon the effective functioning of the group.

Two fundamental questions were consistently asked by the staff at all levels:

1. Isn't a Corpsperson's personality set: that is, if he or she has a criminal record, is there really anything we can do about it?

2. Since many of our Corpspersons come from families with serious problems, aren't we, at the Center, really impotent to influence them?

To begin to answer these questions, we applied for, and received, a small sum from Regional Office, Job Corps, San Francisco[4] to examine the relationships between certain types of information we had. The first study performed was a search for variables which were related to the periodic pay increases received, and for those that related to the IRs.

Study I

The dorm group system was developed because the core staff who drafted the system believed, first, that Corpspersons were young people in the process of development and, regardless of what had happened to them up to the point of entry into Job Corps, their behavior could still be changed. Second, they believed they could, through the careful manipulation of privileges and responsibilities, influence the direction of that change.

[4]The authors wish to express their thanks to Jim Mathews, the Project manager who processed and arranged for the grant from Regional Office, San Francisco; to Yvonne Woods who served as Research Consultant and who prepared tables and summaries of the study; to Art Kube, Center Director, who made the administrative decision to allow the study to be made; and finally, to Dr. Russel Hicks, the contract physician who has contributed to the Center in many ways beyond his medical contract.

Study I, then, was an attempt to see which background, demographic, or Center variables correlated with which indices of behavior (major or minor IRs, and positive behavior).

Method

Subjects. Since the records on the Center are pulled from the files and sent to Regional Office shortly after Corpspersons terminate the program, we were limited to examining the records of Corpspersons still in the program. Only Corpspersons from the mainland United States and Hawaii were included. We studied only those who had been at the Center for at least 45 days (to permit the dorm group system to have effect) and only those who had been at the Center one year or less (Corpspersons who had been there longer being relatively unaffected by the dorm group system). This left 62 Corpspersons for the study. They were 16 to 20 years old, came from "poverty" families, had not finished high school, and represented a wide variety of ethnic backgrounds.

Procedure. Three types of variables were obtained from Center files:

a. Basic demographic and background variables, including:

family income;

ethnic origin;

geographic location of home;

age;

gender;

number of years of formal education; and

a rating of the home environment by the recruiter as (1) adequate, (2) deficient, (3) disruptive.

b. Self-reported medical history, including:

nervousness;

muscle cramps;

insomnia; and

40 other specific symptoms and diseases.

c. Program variables were data generated at the Job Corps Center, including:

academic instructor's rating on a three-point scale: 1=excellent, 2=satisfactory, 3=unsatisfactory;

vocational instructor's rating on a similar three-point scale; and

ratings by RAs on a similar three-point scale.

Detailed education and performance information could not be used because the items of information were not scaled in relationship to other information.

Three measures were selected as criterion variables, that is, as indices of program adjustment: the number of promotions received during the six-month study period, the number of minor IRs, and the number of major IRs.

These were selected because they were felt to be the best indices of Corpsperson adjustment. The number of promotions reflected staff consensus about Corpspersons, and only Corpspersons meeting the stated criteria (Table 1) were eligible for promotion. The IRs were perhaps the best objective measure of Corpsperson misbehavior.

Results

A stepwise multiple regression analysis was performed for each of the three criterion variables. Three significant predictors were found for the number of promotions per month for these subjects: a past history of insomnia, gender, and a history of nervousness. The total amount of variance accounted for was 26 percent. The education variable entered the regression equation on the fourth step; however, the increase in R^2 produced was not statistically significant.

Two significant predictors were found for the number of severe Incident Reports per month: the education variable ($r = .25$) and the entry reading level ($r = .23$). The total amount of variance accounted for was 10 percent.

Discussion

Rather surprisingly, there were few variables found to correlate with the indices of Center adjustment/achievement. Of the over 150 possible correlations comprising the matrix, only 5 reached significance: gender (women getting more IRs and fewer promotions), self-report of nervousness, history of insomnia, entry reading level, and education variable. Such a low percentage of correlations could well have happened by chance. The results of these regressions suggest that the demographic and social conditions of youth prior to entry into Job Corps do not predict Center adjustment, though the Corpsperson's self-report may have some slight relationship to subsequent adjustment. This could be a self-fulfilling prophecy, wherein the Corpsperson who feels unsure of him or herself behaves subsequently as if this low self-rating were true, with the forecast results emerging. This is worth examining, since expectations (even self-expectations, as the case here) have been demonstrated to play a strong role in school adjustment. Still, the general finding from Study I is that straightforward relationships cannot be identified.

It is of interest that the individual rating of teachers and Vocational Counselors failed to emerge as strong predictors of success or of few IRs. Remember that the program

is comprised of four major elements: educational, vocational, counseling, and evening activities. It takes affirmative reports from all the team members to promote a Corpsperson, and there are many who are well-rated by one but not by other members of the team; hence, the lack of correlations. While some staff and faculty argue that their own ratings should "count more," most of the staff agree that the more balanced picture is a more realistic evaluation of Corpsperson's progress. But this point goes further. The "team" concept means that Corpspersons cannot advance by affiliating with one or two staff persons, as was true in the traditional system. Only through affiliation with the Corpsperson group and team evaluation do Corps-persons receive their rewards. Thus, the group to which they affiliate must be based on objective outcomes, rather than on personal staff idiosyncrasies, as was formerly the case.

The correlation between history of nervous symptoms and high number of IRs and poor advancement suggests that there might be a process which involves perceived stress operating on poor adjustment. To examine such a possibility more closely, a second study was performed. For, if there is a sequence involving stress, physical symptoms, and IRs, an early identification procedure might be worked out to offset the adverse effects of stress on Center adjustment.

Study II

Method

Study II was conducted to determine if there was a relationship between visits to the clinic and stress. Many staff felt that when Corpspersons undergo stress and begin to receive IRs, that Corpsperson begins to have physical symptoms as well. The general question regarded possible relationships between clinic visits and the other variables.

Procedure. Each of the 62 subjects in Study I was again examined. Their files were accumulated so that a plot could be made of the first week at the Center (regardless of when it occurred), the second week, and so on. For each week, the IRs for each Corpsperson were counted, as were clinic visits. A correlation could then be calculated between number of IRs to number of clinic visits. A substantial correlation would support the idea that stress, as suggested by frequent IRs, would result in clinic visits. No such correlation was found. Further correlations were run between IRs and the subsequent week's clinic visits (e.g., week 2 IRs to week 3 clinic visits, etc.). A high correlation would suggest that stress (as shown by IRs) results in subsequent physical symptoms. Again, correlations hovered about zero.

Still, there is a hypothesis that a certain type of Corpsperson came to the clinic because of stress induced

(and therefore identifiable) by occurrences that resulted in IRs. This "special individual" hypothesis was examined by pulling the files of nine persons who were identified by the nurse as possibly having such stress-related symptoms. We found no correspondence between IRs and subsequent onset of symptoms, and no real support for the notion that Corps-persons under considerable stress either first act out (get IRs) and then become ill, or the reverse. The only relationship found was that chronic clinic users tended to have larger number of IRs. However, on closer examination, these IRs were in large part due to "absences" and "tardies" and occurred from lack of communication between the clinic and the classrooms. Such IRs are not considered legitimate, since clinic visits are recognized excuses from class.

Discussion Studies I and II

Studies I and II suggest that, while Corpspersons' backgrounds vary considerably as to home stability, occupation of parents, living conditions, formal education, and so on, they achieve similarly in Job Corps and receive about equal numbers of minor and major Incident Reports. While some experienced Job Corps staff would insist that certain backgrounds predict likelihood of failure to adjust, those findings failed to emerge.

This can be stated differently. The data in these studies indicate that, regardless of how poor a student's

past record and regardless of how poor his or her background and family situation, one Corpsperson stands about equal chance to achieve successfully as any other person. There are two minor qualifications to this: being female and describing oneself as nervous or having a history of insomnia slightly raises the prediction of fewer promotions and more IRs.

Thus far, the examination of Center data was informative, but only in a negative sense. The major question remained: Can the Center influence the behavior of Corpspersons? While some of the negative alternatives were determined to be weak, if at all operative, the influence of the dorm group system still needed to be demonstrated.

Study III

Method

Subjects. The sample available during the 12 months of this study included 102 Corpspersons from Hawaii and the mainland United States. Again, they were 16 to 20 years old, came from "poverty" backgrounds, had not completed high school, and had a widely varied ethnic heritage.

Procedure. The Incident Report file which is kept in the Office of the Director of the Residential Advisors provided the data for this study. While many of the Corpspersons in this sample were already out of the Center, and their personnel and achievement records had been forwarded, the

IRs since the beginning of the system were intact. The Director of the Resident Advisors was asked to compile the IRs, by Corpsperson, for the period of five months before and seven months after the formation of the dorm groups. He assigned a Corpsperson (chosen by his dorm group as a penalty for misbehavior) to the task. This Corpsperson tallied the IRs for each month, disregarding those which were "cancelled" through investigation. False or inaccurate IRs are "cancelled" each week at dorm meetings. The remaining IRs were divided into the four categories of "serious" offenses and eight categories of minor offenses shown in Table 2 and Figure 1. The data were then summed by month for minor and major categories.

Results. Table 2 shows the number of Incident Reports given to Corpspersons during the five months immediately preceding the development of the autonomous groups and during the first seven months of the system. The findings of what happened before, during the first two months, and during the succeeding five months of the autonomous group program are rather dramatic. It will be noted that there was an average of 168 Incident Reports per month prior to the dorm groups. During the first month of operation of the autonomous groups the number of daily Incident Reports almost doubled, and it remained nearly that high during the second month. It appeared that the institution of the dorm groups was a great failure, and the Advisor working with the program

Table 2

Monthly Tally of IRs Before and After the Experimental Period

Offenses	Month											
Major	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
Fighting	2	4	6	2	6	4	10	2	2	0	0	0
Drunk & disorderly	5	8	6	4	5	6	2	4	2	0	0	1
Theft - hijacking	2	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Repeated minors*	0	0	0	0	0	*2	*4	0	0	0	0	0
Minor												
Missing school	59	72	56	67	48	167	144	98	68	55	43	57
Late to school - poor dorm cooperation	11	13	20	9	14	33	20	14	11	14	17	12
Late for bed-check - AWOL	8	14	10	18	11	28	29	17	14	6	7	9
Missing appointment	10	6	15	21	12	32	27	15	4	0	2	6
Negligent use of equipment	4	0	2	1	1	4	2	3	0	5	3	1
Dorm disturbance	37	23	29	34	42	43	35	29	13	32	32	18
Failure to complete job	10	8	15	8	17	0	0	6	4	9	4	0
Late to or missing camp duty	5	8	2	4	9	12	4	0	0	5	6	18
Other (dress code, living space, etc.)	20	12	17	19	36	18	16	2	21	7	13	0
TOTAL MAJOR	9	12	13	8	11	12	16	7	4	0	0	2
TOTAL MINOR	164	156	166	181	190	337	277	184	135	133	127	121

*This is where repeated minor offenses become major offenses.

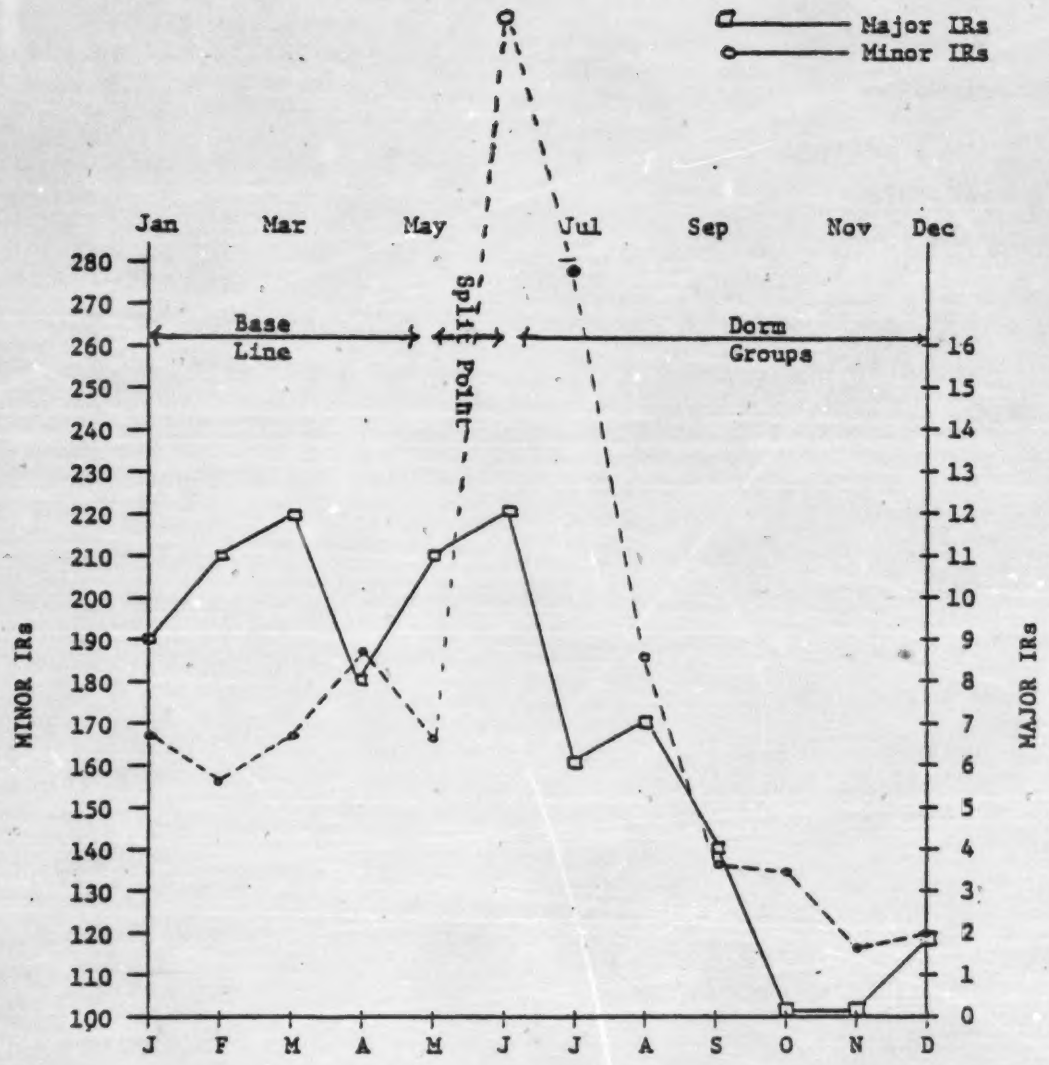

Figure 1. Major and Minor IRs by month during traditional and experimental periods.

immediately went to the staff and faculty members of the Job Corps Center and asked if this was the case. They were told the system actually was working. Each of the staff and faculty questioned (8 teachers and 12 RAs) indicated, independently of the others, that the reason for the apparent increase in incidents of misbehavior was that there was now hope that something would be done. That is, during the five months prior to the formation of the autonomous groups, most incidents apparently went unreported; staff observing them had no hope of correcting the behavior, and, further, wanted to avoid the hassle of writing up the report and possibly being confronted with a Corpsperson who felt that staff member had "finked" on him. When they felt there would be some action taken, and when it was clear that a Corpsperson who hassled a staff member for writing an Incident Report would immediately receive an additional IR, more serious than the original (this was one type of intermediate IR), then they began reporting what was really taking place.

Thus the increase is not in actual incidents of misbehavior, but in the reporting of them. This would seem to result in a more realistic assessment of what was actually taking place. Months 6 and 7 are, therefore, a better index of the baseline of actual misbehavior than the months 1 through 5, which were gross underestimates due to staff reluctance to report what they actually observed.

Proceeding on this assumption, that months 6 and 7 serve as baseline, the dramatic drop in IRs during months 8 through 12 suggests that the autonomous group system did, in fact, have a pronounced effect on the behavior of the students. The noticeable reduction in IRs indicates the great influence of the dorm group system.

It should be noted that the total IRs included both minor and major IRs. A comparison of the two types of IRs reveals that they follow different patterns. Major IRs averaged about 10 per month during the 5 months before the autonomous groups, and about that for the first months of autonomous groups. Over 60 percent of the major IRs were reported by the RAs at night; they were reported accurately during the entire study period, because major IRs often resulted in the dismissal of the Corpsperson who committed the act reported and the RAs felt such dismissals were essential to the smooth operation of the camp. They felt that ignoring a serious offense would encourage further acts of a serious nature; therefore, all major incidents observed were reported.

The advent of the autonomous groups saw a great reduction in the number of major Incident Reports. Few courses of action were open to the administration in the case of a serious violation of the rules; they could dismiss the Corpsperson or not dismiss. Neither this nor the accuracy of reporting changed during the experimental period.

It was only peer (fellow Corpsperson) action that changed at the onset of the autonomous groups. The change in peer reactions is difficult to isolate in any one situation, because the reactions were as varied as the people involved. That is, one might expect the response of peers to a Corpsperson's getting IRs to be negative, as that would mean the group was responsible to try to correct the behavior. But reactions actually ranged from encouragement to strong chastisement. Some Corpspersons would go to the writer of the IR insisting that the group member had been "wronged," while other Corpspersons have even threatened to kill chronic offenders.

But, whether peer responses were negative or positive, there tended to be a drastic reduction in the number of IRs accumulated by the Corpspersons each month. And, if it was not the negative or positive quality of peer reaction which caused the change, we began to consider that the influence was any reaction at all. It often and regularly happened that a very heavy, often hostile group meeting would be followed by the giver and receiver of the hostilities going out and having a couple of beers together. It appeared that a powerful deterrent to further misbehavior on the part of Corpspersons was the reaction--the caring, as it were--of other Corpspersons which influenced them to behave themselves.

A similar influence is that of "reinforcement." The theory behind the development of the autonomous dorm system was that Corpspersons would develop cooperative and responsible behaviors, and would receive reinforcement in the form of privileges earned by their levels of desired behavior. But a very powerful reinforcement, indeed, turned out to be the interaction of the Corpspersons during the group meetings; it appeared to us that often the interactions (both positive and seemingly "negative") were more powerful reinforcement than the material ones. Certainly,it was important to scale the privileges, and to make them contingent on performance of desired behaviors. We are asking, however, whether an essential part of this system might be the bringing together of peers into meaningful work groups, and the sense of belonging found there.

Our observations of the Corpspersons during their group meetings and of their relationships afterwards suggests a distinction between belongingness, as we are using the term, and the notion of "reinforcement." Though it may be a matter of degree, reinforcement is often conceived of as an act that follows a behavior. Belongingness is similar in that when a Corpsperson behaves in a certain way he or she receives attention from peers. However, belongingness goes beyond that in time and process. We propose that belongingness becomes and internalized process involving cartain cognitive processes. The person who belongs becomes an

organism who anticipates taking certain actions and behaviors; before these actions are carried out, however, that person anticipates the reactions of the group to those actions and tends to behave in accordance with the anticipated reactions. In this way, the person who belongs uses internal cues and anticipations, at least partly, to direct behavior both in relation to that which has in the past been reinforced (directly or indirectly), and to that which has not, but which the person considers the source of reaction by peers. Thus, belongingness is a much more powerful shaper of behavior than "reinforcement," at least as rigidly defined.

Another important feature of the dorm groups is that, while the teachers participate in it through the writing of IRs and the resulting discussions about Corpsperson performance, they are not bound to a system they regard as troublesome. Teachers report absences and tardies as a matter of course; they counsel students as a matter of influence and teaching. But they are not otherwise involved in the sometimes cumbersome administration of the dorm groups and, therefore, remain cooperative and interested in the system.

Informal Services

Thus far, our discussion has centered on the formal educational services which are the main objective of the program. There are also some "auxillary" services which are not a part of the formal dorm groups program but are

managed as microsystems within the macroresidential program. It will be useful to examine some of these services, and to consider how such services are managed, and with what results.

Health Services

While the health services have been mentioned in Study II, further consideration is warranted because of the contrasts in the delivery of such services.

Many of the Corpspersons come from homes in which they have had little or no contact with physicians. Further, many of the Corpspersons have some mythical notions about sickness and health which are destructive and which render them much less effective as people. Historically, the clinic has been run as an iidependent unit, almost without contact with the educational services. This was not purposely planned, but resulted from continuing traditions of the autonomy of the medical profession. The delivery of health services to the Corpspersons has been accomplished by hiring a part-time physician and a full-time nurse.

For the first eight years at the Hawaii Job Corps Center sick call was held just before working hours. A Corpsperson who wanted to have an ailment checked, or who reported to the doctor for a follow-up visit, reported to the dispensary. New complaints were seen first, and screened to determine those who are able to go to work and those who are not.

Those who were to remain for treatment were taken aside and interviewed for medical history by the nurse. They were then seen, one by one, by the doctor. Those who were to return to work were given slips that indicated by what time they should be expected to report to work, usually five minutes after leaving the clinic. The doctor handled many kinds of medical emergencies as well as routine matters. In some cases Corpspersons who were seriously injured were sewn up or treated in the dispensary; others were sent to hospitals or clinics in the community for further treatment.

For its first eight years, the Job Corps utilized the traditional medical model approach to illness. That is, Corpspersons brought their complaints to the nurse and doctor, and the doctor diagnosed the problem and prescribed the treatment. If a Corpsperson said he had a headache, but the doctor felt there was no underlying ailment, the Corpsperson was sent back to work. When there were symptoms, the doctor took sole responsibility for treatment, prescribing medicine, rest, etc., for the patient.

When the Center began shifting responsibility to Corpspersons, both the physician and nurse resigned and replacements were hired.[5] The new nurse and physician began to shift the medical model to become a more educative/service-rendering clinic in which Corpspersons would bring symptoms to the nurse of doctor, and they would discuss problems

[5]Audrey Mickel, the new nurse, had a great impact on the medical services and the "new approach" described herein.

and solutions. As was reported elsewhere (MacDonald & Oden, 1977a), the Corpspersons themselves became important factors in their own treatment. The change from passive recipient of services to active participant was sufficient to take two Corpspersons off asthma medication and achieve almost complete relief of symptoms. In many other cases medicinal remedies were displaced by psychological approaches to problems and behaviors.

When the doctor assumed sole responsibility for the Corpspersons' health and care, they often quit working and going to school, and assumed they were to lie quietly until given permission to return to classes. Some Corpspersons became overly concerned with their health, and some refused to go to the dispensary, probably because they preferred not to lose such control of their own lives. One Corpsperson, for example, made his own splint and walked around camp on a severly injured leg for days before staff forced him to go to the doctor.

Under the new approach, however, the new doctor and nurse emphasized that Corpspersons were <u>not</u> to give up independence; indeed, they were asked to recognize they were <u>always</u> in a decision-making role regarding the acceptance of treatment, and even the prescription of what was to be used. This same apporach was used in dispensing psychological services (MacDonald & Oden, 1977b). Thus, in the later years of Job Corps, health services were administered by placing

responsibility for initiation of action on the Corpsperson, and having the Corpsperson participate in the decisions and duties of health-giver as well as being the patient.

In the new situation, Corpspersons came to the clinic (the dispensary was renamed by the nurse to reflect the new emphasis) for advice rather than pills. Although previous records are not available for comparison, it seems to the observer that the frequency of preventable complaints (such as secondary infections, dirt-related disorders, and so on) has decreased since the Corpspersons have been taking active part in their own health care. It is difficult to tell exactly because of the unavailability of previous records.

Food Services

Service of meals to Corpspersons, primarily breakfast and lunch (many Corpspersons eat dinner out, particularly on weekends), is almost unrelated to the rest of the Center program. Few of the daytime staff eat in the cafeteria. At one time teachers and Counselors were responsible for the conduct of the Corpspersons in the dining hall, but many objected to having to spend their own lunch breaks doing "police duty." Their refusal to continue resulted in a policy of expedience: that the Corpspersons in the lunchroom be supervised by their own KPs and the mess-hall personnel. Lack of behavior standards presented a problem. Often Corpspersons came to the dining hall directly from work

assignments, in grimy work clothing and with dirty hands and faces. Their manners were often lax; the hall was loud and raucous. Over the years there has been periodic concern about this situation, and a number of different plans have been tried. However, failure to implement and integrate any such plan into the everyday life of the Center left several obvious gaps: no particular staff responsibilities were assigned; staff themselves failed to agree on a proper set of standards, although at one time the Corpspersons established their own set of regulations.

Finally the contract chef complained to the Center Director that the Corpspersons were not observing proper manners. He said they were coming into the mess hall early and displaying objectionable behaviors. The Camp Director authorized the cooks to take immediate corrective steps, which included locking the front door so the Corpspersons could not come in early, refusing to serve those who were not dressed properly, and stopping the food line when the hall was noisy. This direct contingency between Corpspersons behavior and the food service resulted in some improvement. However, the lack of an organized program permits continuation of the problems: an ambiguous set of expectations for Corpspersons in the dining room and inconsistent behavior while eating.

Orientation

One perplexing problem in Job Corps Centers across the country has been that of early resignation from the program. A fairly large proportion of Corpspersons have come to Training Centers only to leave within the first 30 days. The Job Corps has taken the position that such "drops" are really not the fault of the Center, but are attributable instead to factors the Corpspersons bring to the Center.

There is good reason for this position. At the Hawaii Job Corps Center it had been almost commonplace that, when a large contingent of new enrollees comes in, at least one and often as many as half want to return home on the next plane, bus, or boat. Realization of being on their own, real or imagined threats from other Corpspersons, and the loneliness that comes from being separated from family and friends no doubt contribute to initial feelings of insecurity, uncomfortableness, and homesickness.

The Hawaii Job Corps, in an attempt to cut down on the number of enrollees who leave during the "orientation period" (the first few weeks at the Center), hired an Orientation Counselor.[6] The Orientation Counselor meets the incoming Corpspersons and immediately settles them into temporary dormitories. They are provided bedding, a good

[6]Deanna Yamagasako has served this role and designed the program and its implementation by herself. Her techniques are sound and haven't been improved upon by the many professionals who have come to observe her program.

meal, and then break up into group "rap" sessions designed to identify immediate needs and resolve any pressing doubts or concerns. They, as a group, then leave the Center and tour part of the Island, then see a movie or are provided other light entertainment. The next day they meet the nurse and Center Director and discuss their own expectations. They remain together, and the Counselor ensures that clothing is issued without long waiting, and that other "settling in" matters are handled with minumum of red tape. The Orientation Counselor then introduces them to the vocational training areas and the classroom areas. Finally, group rap sessions discuss selection of vocational training and short-term plans. By now the new enrollees are in the process of forming a close group; they know each other's names and a little about each other personally. They are then introduced to other staff, and they are placed into ongoing (dorm) groups by assigning them beds in existing dorms.

The major problem arises when the orientation group breaks up so that new Corpspersons can be assimilated into already existing groups. This is not an overwhelming problem, as evidenced by the low attrition rate during the first 30 days. It is worth noting that the Orientation Counselor, independently, developed a program in which "belongingness" was a major component which was emphasized from the moment enrollees come together throughout their entire orientation. Only rarely is there any undesirable

behavior shown during this period; when it does occur, it almost invariably predicts failure to adjust.

Preparation and Release

When Corpspersons have completed their training, they are put into a "limbo" status where they are no longer considered members of their dormitory groups. This happens when a Corpsperson is being readied for discharge because he or she has completed the program and is waiting for employment opportunity, or when he or she has been released from the Job Corps Center because of misconduct. During this release process the Corpsperson is not a member of any social system or group. It is interesting to observe the impact on the Corpsperson of this detachment from organized units.

Particularly in the case of Corpspersons who have been discharged for misconduct, this detachment has a profound effect. This period of "limbo" can last for weeks before a Corpsperson is sent home. Once a Corpsperson has been put in the state of limbo, no longer responsible to the autonomous groups, a sudden transition often takes place. Corpspersons with "clean" records, except for those dismissed for misconduct, have picked fights with other Corpspersons and with staff members, have burned buildings, have stolen cars, and so forth. It is as if a Corpsperson is restrained by belonging to a group, and withdrawal of this restraint

releases the potential for illegal behavior. In one six-month period, there were 10 serious incidents attributable to Corpspersons "in limbo"; over 50 percent of the Corpspersons put into the limbo status engaged in serious misbehavior.

It should be recognized, of course, that there may well be a resentment aspect to their behavior. Corpspersons who have been discharged from the Center because of misbehavior may well be sparked to illegal acts because of anger at being dismissed on the one hand, and by knowing that no further sanctions can be taken against them on the other. Still, where limbo status resulted from regular program completion, resentment is not a viable explanation. Therefore, it was necessary to alter slightly the nature of the preparation and departure status. This was done by prearranging immediate departure from camp for these Corpspersons who had been discharged. Where this was not possible, arrangements were made to billet the Corpspersons off the Center, in a hotel or motel, or in the home of a Resident Advisor well-known to the Corpsperson.

Discussion and Conclusions

It is clear from the foregoing that the authors conceptualize the behavior of individuals in relationship to the social matrix in which the individuals find themselves. Corpspersons belong to a number of social systems and respond

differently to each. The incidence of misbehavior that a Corpsperson displays is often related to the way his or her autonomous group works. Thus, behavior inside the camp is related usually to the autonomous management group and variables related to that.

At the same time, when a Corpsperson is in a system which does not attach contingencies to behavior, there is a greatly reduced relationship between that behavior and the management of the autonomous group. For example, regardless of a Corpsperson's performance in the dorm group, he or she may or may not use sickness as a way out of undesirable assignments. There is little relationship between classroom or dorm behavior and dispensary behavior. These are two systems to which the Corpsperson belongs, each system having different standards for behavior. When a Corpsperson is participating in the governance of his own life, as in the dorm group, he or she will usually take pride in and demonstrate the best behavior within that given system. At the same time, if staff assumes responsibility for and manipulates contingencies for Corpsperson behavior, the Corpsperson feels no obligation to act in any particular way. Therefore, there may be a great discrepancy between a Corpsperson's behavior in school, vocational training, and dormitory life, which is governed by a dorm system, and his behavior off Center, which is not. It is possible, as was demonstrated at the Hawaii Center, to tie dispensary behavior to dorm groups by integrating the two systems.

The same is demonstrated by the experiences in the dining hall and discharge planning. Corpspersons in the dining hall may or may not display approved behaviors, though they do in their dorm group. Corpspersons being released from the Center, particularly if they have been expelled for misconduct, are particularly prone to illegal behaviors, apparently because they feel no constraints and possibly because they are motivated by their resentment.

Corpspersons appear to display program-approved behavior or program-disappointment behavior (IRs) depending upon what is expected of them and the contingencies involved. When they are given the responsibilities and authority to govern their own behavior, these youth more consistently display constructive behavior. When they are not expected to manage their own behaviors, they tend to live up to the expectations; that is, they show inconsistent behavior and frequently behavior which is dangerous to themselves and others.

Implications

The implications which may be drawn from these studies must be carefully weighed. Many factors, individually or collectively, make generalization to many school situations difficult. First, the Corpspersons were residents over which the staff had an unusual number of sanctions (monetary raises, access to many privileges, opportunity for daily interactions, etc.). These students were older (16 to 20

years old) and the majority had chosen to come to the Center. Further, the population was of considerable ethnic mix, including Hawaiian, Caucasian, Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Samoan, and other ethnic backgrounds. The Center is a low-pressure facility on the outskirts of Honolulu and one in which the staff takes considerable pride. However, to the degree that some of these factors may fit other situations, certain recommendations can be made. The major force which shapes the behavior of the Corpspersons is their participation in the program and participation of the type that puts them in contact with peers and with the administration of the Center.

This paper stresses factors within the student and within the community (Clement, 1975), rather than external factors (Schnabolk, 1974), in controlling illegal behavior. As a potential educational technique, belongingness may be applicable to populations other than high-risk, ethnically mixed ones of late adolescence. MacDonald (MacDonald, 1971) has suggested that similar principles are applicable to regular "day" students. Teachers are usually reluctant, because of other duties, to take on complex tasks not directly related to teaching. However, the groups system is easily operable, even by those with little formal training. Many persons currently labeled "aides," etc., could well operate a groups classroom system. It is a method of student

management which seems to us worthy of further exploration in a number of settings with different populations.

Graffiti are a common art form on some buildings, but there are few on the buildings the Corpspersons built themselves. By the same token, the social affairs (graduation, etc.) the Corpspersons are directly involved in run well and there are few problems of misconduct. Similarly, when the autonomous groups manage the operation of formal program services, these programs are demonstrably superior to those operated by staff only. It is as if each Corpsperson chooses to be his or her own provider: when someone else is in charge of his or her life, the Corpsperson is lackadaisical, feeling there is nothing to lose or gain. But when the Corpsperson is involved, then there is something to be demonstrated (e.g., competence) and the operation is carried off relatively smoothly. While this is generally a voluntary situation, some of the Corpspersons have little choice: stay in Job Corps or go to prison. Some do choose prison; but many Corpspersons choose to gain independence and to run their own lives.

Many services in the institution are integrated with one another. They can be made so by extending responsibilities to groups of students, where such assignment could not be made easily or practically to individual students. Where an institution or agency extends many services to clients, as is the case in Job Corps, the management can be done in

a variety of ways. The one demonstrated here was managed by linking together the features of the services, and pulling them together in a rating system contingent to privileges. The Corpspersons then quickly see that it is their own development which is valued, and it is easy to seek belongingness in such an organization. Without being selfish, they can subscribe to group goals, assured that their own ends are being pursued.

In this situation, the competitive nature is replaced by a cooperative one. For many youths, it is very desirable to belong to a group where cooperation among the group members is the key to success; competition may come between groups, but such competition does not involve the risks of individual competition. Belongingness becomes an assurance to the group members (who have been failures in school, either by their own admission, or by judgment of school officials) that they can try.

It must also be said that some Corpspersons who were "model students" behaved differently "outside." That is, some Corpspersons who were making good Center adjustment were caught in serious misconduct off the Center. Some were sent to jail, and some were remanded back to the Center under Court order not to be permitted off the Center grounds. This showed that some Corpspersons "behaved" themselves while on the Center, but did not when they left. This is a

discouraging note, i.e., we are necessarily effecting the "rehabilitation" of Corpsperson. It appears that some Corpspersons who were, prior to entry into Job Corps, chronic misbehavers, can adjust well to the Job Corps, without necessarily extending that adjustment outside the Center (even while they are in residence).

Certainly a great deal more research needs to be done with high-risk youth and with the institutions working with such youth. We have suggested some avenues of examination and some ways to look at behavior of youth and of staff. We are unsure of the degree to which our data are generalizable, and so caution the reader. We hope, however, that this article has aroused the reader's interest regarding the possibilities which institutions have for influencing the behavior of youth in voluntary programs.

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